and drink his wine. One time we were practicing the rigodon for the fiesta in the convento. The priest was away. When he returned he did not scold us but he had a heavy face. He did not like it because we had profaned the sanctity of his abode.[90]

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The Spaniards often both punished and rewarded the Filipinos; this led to an ambivalent attitude toward most of them that persists into the present.

The Messianic Outlaws of Southern Negros

Conditions worsened for both Filipinos and Spaniards during the last part of the 19th century. Hostility to Spanish rule increased among educated Filipinos. Filipino leaders were deported to penal colonies and innocent intellectuals were persecuted. As various political and social abuses were not abolished, a reaction known as the "Propaganda Movement" developed among Filipino leaders. This movement began in 1872 and ended two decades later when the revolutionary society, Katipunan, was founded.

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Beginning with the 1870's a series of disturbances or uprisings occurred in various parts of the island. Some of these disturbances were due to bandits who lived in the mountains and robbed the people of the lowlands. These outlaws had existed since the early days of the Spanish administration of Negros. With the development

[90] The rigodon is a quadrille first introduced at the XIII's court and later diffused to Spain and eventually to the Philippines. Francisca R. Tolentino, Philippine National Dances. New York, Silver Burdett Company, 1946, p. 261.

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of the sugar industry during this period, these bandits found even richer spoils to loot in the haciendas and centrals. Some of these uprisings, however, were of a messianic or nativistic nature with supernatural sanctions and sometimes a racial aspect directed against the Chinese. In 1878 the Guardia Civil was first established in Negros; in the same year a detachment was sent to Siaton.[91] The arrival in Siaton of the Guardia Civil, which in those days was moved from one region to another as "shock troops," is an indication that military force was needed to suppress growing lawlessness. Conditions in Siaton so deteriorated within a ten-year period that in December, 1887, the Governor-General of the Philippines, Valeriano Weyler, anchored a battleship with 500 soldiers off Siaton.[92]

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In 1887 the southern part of Negros was disturbed by the activities of Ponciano Elofre, also known by his nicknames "King Kanoy" or "Buhawi" (Waterspout) who had thousands of followers.[93] Elofre was a cabeza of Barrio

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[91] Marco, op. cit., p. 110. It is the Cadiane manuscript that states that a Guardia Civil detachment came to Siaton.

[92] In 1888 Weyler fought the Moros of Lanao to end a conflict that had begun in 1887. David P. Barrows, History of the Philippines. Rev. ed. New York, World Book Company, 1926, p. 348.

[93] This account is a reconstruction of material obtained from the Cadiane manuscripts and interviews with the daughter-in-law of one of Elofre's adopted sons (actually his nephew), Santiago Tayko, a former capitan of Zamboanguita who knew Elofre, and several other informants. Elofre is not mentioned by name in either Lebaux' Apunte or Marco's Reseña.

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Nahandig (some say Kaladias) located in the interior part of the present municipality of Zamboanguita. He was married but never had any children except those he adopted. Klofre is remembered as a man of means since "one could not become a cabeza unless he owned some property then." He was said to be good-natured, generous, and a devout Catholic. His almost fanatic devotion to his religion led him to organize Saturday prayer meetings in his barrio; these began to attract many people. After the religious services there was dancing, singing and often a cockfight. Later the people, through cooperative labor, built a small chapel in Klofre's barrio.

As more people were attracted to these services, particularly from Zamboanguita poblacion, local Spanish officials grew suspicious of Klofre's motives. Klofre allegedly urged his followers not to pay their taxes, although others state he did not encourage the people to revolt against Spanish authority. His prayer meetings were attended by devout Catholics, many of whom believed he possessed unusual powers. It is also said that Klofre was unable to pay the taxes required of him as a cabeza and from this inability his troubles with the Spaniards began. The Spanish authorities, however, appeared to believe he was inciting the barriofolk to revolt against the government. Their suspicions of Klofre grew as the crowds at his barrio services increased. Throughout the Philippines at this time political conditions were such as to stimulate the Spanish authorities to suspect any large Filipino gathering.

Finally the Guardia Civil went to Klofre's barrio to arrest him and suppress the meetings. After several clashes in which some of his followers were killed, Klofre decided to surrender to the authorities to halt any further bloodshed. Another account, however, states that he and his father were secretly visiting a nephew in Zamboanguita poblacion, and that Klofre intended to give himself up when he was surprised by the Guardia Civil. In the struggle to capture Klofre, his father was killed. Klofre and his brother-in-law, Valentin Tubigan, nicknamed "Cachila" (i.e., Spaniard because of his long black beard), were able to escape.[94]

Klofre's escape from the Guardia Civil allegedly was due to his supernatural powers and his anting-anting (amulet). At first the two men established their residence at Sitio Abolay (Aboli), west of Barrio Olambid in the northern part of Siaton municipality.[95] Later they

[94]Ruiz also states his full name was Valentin Tubigan or "Cachila." Ruiz, op. cit., p. 150. One informant said Klofre was visiting his father's residence in Zamboanguita with no intention of surrendering. While there his dagger began "to bleed." Klofre's father believed this to be a bad omen and urged his son to leave before the Guardia Civil learned he was in the poblacion. Klofre refused and later the soldiers surrounded his father's residence, tied him to a chair and bayoneted his father to death before Klofre's eyes. Because of his supernatural powers, Klofre and Valentin were able to escape.

[95]The former capitan of Zamboanguita (whom I interviewed), when he was eleven years old, claims he actually saw an example of Klofre's magical powers. While at a house with Klofre, the latter requested a glass of water. The water did not arrive quickly and Klofre was quite thirsty, so he knocked a large bamboo, part of the house's structure, and fresh water gushed forth. One day when hungry and without money, Klofre told one of his friends to cut open a squash growing in the field. Inside the squash was found 20 centavos. When his followers were hungry, Klofre is said to have spread his handkerchief on the sea, sailed away, and returned later with plenty of fish.

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moved to Sitio Dagangdang north of Olambid. Gradually the legends of Klofre's supernatural powers spread throughout the southern part of Negros. Ruiz writes that he claimed to be a "Living God" while other informants say Klofre was invulnerable to bullets. His magical powers were believed to reside in a mole on the back of his neck. He was able to make it rain at will. One day, in the presence of nearly 1,000 followers, Klofre climbed a coconut tree and prayed for rain, which soon fell in torrents. The Guardia Civil, then searching for Klofre and his group, had to abandon their hunt because of the heavy rain. It was from this incident that Klofre received his nickname, Buhawi, "Waterspout."

Klofre predicted that the world would be destroyed by a great flood, although no specific date was set for the catastrophe. After the flood the world would be plunged into utter darkness and those who did not follow Klofre would perish in rivers of boiling water and fire. Klofre wore a uniform of black pants with vivid red stripes down the seams and a black coat with orange stripes on the breast. However, he wore only this gaudy uniform when the Guardia Civil were chasing him "because he did not wish to frighten his followers."

> With this prophecy [that he was a Living God] he succeeded in attracting people from various towns on the coast who blindly followed him...He had his own police who went to the nearby towns to collect candles and tribute from the people. Persons who could not pay these were taken before the Living God who punished them at will for failing to follow orders.[96]

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[96]Ruiz, op. cit., p. 149.

Cadiane writes that thousands of people from the coastal poblacions and barrios flocked to Klofre's mountain lair.

> There were very few people left in the poblacions of Negros Oriental. Young and old, father and son, going with him anyplace. It was said that the people were fearful of him if they failed to obey what he said. They were told to bring to Klofre a candle, five centavos, a chicken and egg which were signs of homage to him. There were about 15,000 people in the mountains who were followers of Buhawi, even some Loog.[97]

Various stories are told of Klofre's mountain residences that he constantly changed due to Guardia Civil patrols. He was said to always be surrounded by his soldiers while beautiful women and handsome young men alternately danced and sang the Katihado (a dance in which the participants compose their songs extemporaneously) to entertain him. Klofre's "palace" was so bright it seemed as if it were illuminated with electricity. When he lived in Barrio Nahandig he would wave his silk handkerchief at the side of a near-by cliff that miraculously opened, exposing inside a richly decorated room. When new followers came with offerings, Cadiane reports Klofre told them:

> You must believe and have faith in me. I am the owner of your salvation. For those who are with me, and those who died from the beginning to now, are witness of my calling to you. So you just clap your hands and nothing will happen to you.

The clapping of hands appears to have been both a ritual and a magical protection against harm for Klofre's followers.

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[97] Ruiz, op. cit., p. 148: "From each new convert he collected tribute for his personal expenses, plus a candle." Cadiane's estimate of 15,000 followers is probably an exaggeration, although there is no way the actual numbers can be determined.

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So many people from Siaton began to visit or became followers of Elofre that in 1888 the parish priest, Julian Adan, told Andres Ragay, the local judge, to go to his mountain camp to investigate.[98] Ragay visited Elofre's group and is said to found all reports about him correct. He discovered a former clerk of the Siaton cascareal, Pio Kiti, recording names of Elofre's new followers who came from Tolong, Maloconan, Giliga-on, Siaton, Bonbonon, Zamboanguita, Dauin, Bacong, Valencia, Dumaguete, Sibulan, Tanjay and other coastal settlements of Negros Oriental. Elofre did not attract many followers from western Negros, probably due to the poor transportation facilities.

After Ragay's report to the priest and local officials, a plan was formed to capture Elofre. It was agreed that the Guardia Civil patrols of Tolong, Bais, Guihulngan, Dumaguete, Zamboanguita, and Siaton were to march from their respective poblacions and secretly meet near Elofre's camp. The patrols met as planned. When the attack began Elofre cried: "Make your belief in me strong for we are being attacked by the Devil." Elofre and most of his followers escaped, although one soldier and four of Elofre's followers were killed and sixty men, women, and children arrested. After this encounter Elofre and

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[98]Adan is said to be the first person to bring goats and sheep to Siaton poblacion. Goats were a pre-Hispanic animal in the Philippines while sheep were brought to the archipelago by the Spaniards.

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his followers seem to have been inactive for a short period. Some said that angels had taken Klofre to heaven but that he would return. Peace and order so improved that the soldiers stationed in Siaton under Lt. Col. Villabrille who had arrived with Weyler returned to Manila.[99]

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In the middle of the year (1888) Klofre's followers became active again, stealing cattle or carabaos from the lowlanders, "Sometimes cutting off only the two hind legs or just taking the tongue." The barriofolk began again to go to the mountains to join Klofre. "This was in July, 1888, because the corn was already in tassels," Cadiane writes. Conditions became so unsettled that it was dangerous to leave the centers of population. Guardia Civil patrols combed the mountains, and often shot any suspicious character on sight. There were a few days, during this period, Cadiane reports, that bodies did not arrive from the mountains in Siaton poblacion due to the Guardia Civil patrols. "Sometimes they would only bring back a string of ears, one ear for each man shot. These strings of ears were often nearly three feet long." Cadiane describes Siaton poblacion at this time.

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[99] Cadiane manuscript's conflicts with the account given by Ruiz who states Villabrille did not go to Manila when his group left Negros; he was sent to Antique province, Panay, where another "God" had made his appearance. Ruiz, op. cit., p. 150.

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The condition of the poblacion was like that of a cave because when the sun set nobody would walk the streets. When one talked it would be in a whisper because there might be soldiers or followers of Buhawi listening under the house. If you talked against the soldiers, they would take you to their headquarters. If you said anything against Buhawi, his men might hear you and take you to face him in the mountains. There was continual stealing in the near-by area and continual shooting in the mountains. You would hear the rattle of the guns and of the machitas (heavy cutting knives carried by the Guardia Civil). You would hear the sorrowful howling of the dogs.[100]

The disorder and violence in this locality continued until 1889. One day Manuel Ege, the son of Capitan Lucas Ege (who had been re-elected capitan for the fourth time in 1889), was captured by Elofre's followers. Ege, however, managed to escape and reported their presence in the mountains. Fortunately, forty Guardia Civil soldiers from Tolong were stationed in Siaton, under the command of Lt. Dominick (Ruiz, Domenech).[101] The following morning as the people attended mass news arrived that Elofre's

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[100] Valentin seems to have had his personal following, although subject to the command of Elofre. In the latter part of 1888, after the attack on Elofre's group, Valentin and some of his followers held a meeting in the house of Alegio Ragpa, Barrio Datag. The people danced, shouted, sang, and clapped their hands for Valentin said: "Clap your hands and we shall never be in danger." News of this meeting reached the poblacion. A messenger was sent to Valentin, telling him the people did not mind his gathering but the Guardia Civil said it was illegal and for them to disband immediately. Valentin refused. As a result several Guardia Civil soldiers and local policemen returned to Datag and attacked the group. Valentin was reported to have wiped off the bullets that hit him "like fireflies that were lighting on his chest." Finally Valentin said, "Because you cannot get us, we will be the ones to get you" and the soldiers and policemen fled in fear, leaving behind a companion thought to be dead but who was merely badly wounded. This man returned to the poblacion and another patrol was sent after Valentin but he had left Datag.

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[101] Ruiz gives a slightly different version. A rainy and dark night in August, 1887 Elofre decided to attack the poblacion. The Guardia Civil, stationed in Siaton, decided to hunt him out but just then Lt. Domenech arrived and advised that the attack should be postponed until the next morning. Ruiz, op. cit., p. 148.

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group was meeting in the house of Bernabe Cajonera in Barrio Sandolot (Ruiz states Sitio Nabais, Sandolot) in preparation for an attack on the poblacion.

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More than 100 soldiers and local policemen marched to Sandolot to surprise Klofre's followers. As the soldiers moved through the fields of ripe corn surrounding Klofre's meeting place they could hear the people singing and clapping their hands. The men were filled with "sadness and fear for they were going to meet Klofre who was even more powerful than Valentin who had just wiped off the bullets shot from their guns." This surprise attack resulted in the death of Klofre. Gadiane writes:

> As the Guardia Civil were firing their guns they saw someone who was quite big and stout, dressed in black clothing with red and white stripes, going up the hillside. In his right hand he was holding a pinoti [a bolo-like knife]. The Guardia Civil believed this man was Buhawi so they concentrated their fire on him. Buhawi did not run or even walk fast. He was just walking in a natural pace up the steep slope of the hill. After firing for awhile the soldiers no longer were able to see Buhawi. They went up the hill after him. When they reached the top of the hill they saw at the opposite bank of the river, in a small clearing, a man kneeling on one knee, holding a pinoti. They fired at him many times but he did not fall. They did not know Buhawi was already dead. So the Guardia Civil went near and one man pushed the body. They then saw blood was coming out of his mouth and that a bullet had passed through his rectum into his head.

Thus died the King called Kanoy.

His body was carried to Siaton poblacion where it was bathed in coconut oil, dressed, the hair neatly combed, and placed in a chair in front of the casareal. Criers were sent throughout the poblacion and near-by barrios telling the people to come to see the former

superman. The corpse was later sent to Zamboanguita under heavy guard because the rumor was that Elofre's followers were going to try to highjack their dead leader. In Zamboanguita Elofre's relatives were called to identify the body. 175* 579 668 792

The legends concerning Buhawi continued to multiply after his death. It was said that it took five days to carry the body from Siaton to Zamboanguita yet it did not decompose. A friend donated a blanket, mat, and pillow for Elofre's burial. Several evenings after the funeral this friend heard a voice in the darkness say: "Pari, here are your things." Going outside his house he found his blanket, mat, and pillow used to bury Elofre. Elofre had been resurrected. There are some old people who today believe that Elofre was never shot, that he is still alive and may return. For the most part, however, the life and legend of Buhawi are being forgotten rapidly; he is not part of the folklore of the younger people, many of whom have never heard of the former King Kanoy.

The death of Elofre did not end all the disturbances in southern Negros. In 1890 Elofre's brother-in-law, Valentin, and the latter's brother, Higino (Ruiz: Higinio known as "God Talisic"), held a meeting near Magdalamas, a mountain in the vicinity of Sitio Kaladyas, Barrio Bonawon. A large number of armed men and women attended the meeting. New threats to Siaton's peace were feared, so a Guardia Civil patrol was sent to capture the group. They fought Valentin's followers, who were trapped in 175* 579 668

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their meeting house, for twenty-four hours. Early in the morning a woman cried: "Stop shooting! All the men are dead."[102]

When the soldiers entered the house they found Valentin, his wife, Higinio, and several others dead. More than twenty female followers of Valentin and Higinio were captured. The bodies of the dead were carried to Siaton and placed in front of the casareal for the populace to inspect. When the Guardia Civil group returned to the poblacion with the bodies some people heard mysterious drums.[103]

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[102] Ruiz states that in 1888 a Guardia Civil patrol, guided by spies, attacked the hiding place of Valentin and Higinio. They resisted arrest and were killed. Their bodies were brought to Siaton poblacion. On Klofre's death, his wife "took upon her shoulders his mantle of divinity, calling herself the Dowager Queen and was taken around in a chair." She and her brother-in-law of her husband joined forces. It was the news of these two individuals that brought Weyler and Villabrille to Negros in December, 1887. First, two companies of infantry were sent by Weyler, who did not arrive himself until 1887. Ruiz reports that the soldiers searched for Valentin and Camartin, another local outlaw, but were unsuccesaful. Villabrille finally took his troops to Antique province, Panay. This account conflicts in the matter of dates with Gadiane's manuscript that states Klofre was not killed until 1889 and Valentin and Higinio shot in 1890. Ruiz, op. cit., p. 150.

[103] A month after Valentin's death, Juana Gaitera, "The Princess of the Mountains," surrendered to Lt. Radok of the Siaton Guardia Civil. She and her group had come to the poblacion in the past, beating drums but were "chased away" by the soldiers. Gaitera and her few followers seem to have been harmless and the officials were not concerned over their activities. Gaitera was taken by Radok to the local judge who ordered her sent to Bacolod for judgment. Later her brother who lived in Siaton received a letter from Juana who wrote she was living in San Ramon, Zamboanga, with a Spanish surgeon whom she planned to marry.

beard and wore an uniform like a spider's web with red and black stripes." Finally he steeled himself and went to Torres for aid in making the census. 175* 681

The deaths of Klofre and Valentin did not end the disturbances in southern Negros. During the 1890's another ladrone (bandit), Camalting, roamed the interior regions of Negros Oriental, robbing and terrorizing the people of the lowlands and the mountains. While he never attacked Siaton poblacion he came as far south as Barrio Casala-an.[114] Camalting's band dispersed when he was murdered by his three wives who wearied of the constant flight from the Guardia Civil patrols. They are said to have gotten their husband intoxicated and stabbed him while he slept. The wives surrendered to Lucas Bueno, the Guardia Civil surgeon, who turned them over to his superior, Torres. General peace appears to have returned to this part of the island until the raids of the Babaylanes during the revolution. 175* 579 668

In 1895 orders from Dumaguete arrived in the poblacion to prepare a list of trainees from eighteen to twenty-two years old for the infantry and Guardia Civil forces. The rebellious activities of many Filipinos were increasing. The "Propaganda Movement" had failed to achieve real political and social reform in the Philippines while such 175* 668 702

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[114] Ruiz mentions a noted outlaw of this region named Camartin who probably is the same person as Camalting. Ruiz, op. cit., p. 148.

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advisory council of eight members and a military governor appointed by the American army. The military governor selected the judiciary, commanded the troops, and had the power to veto any act of the civil government. As LeRoy writes: "It was a system whereby the military governor could, if tyrannically inclined, nullify the much advertised 'home rule' of Negros, or could, if wisely willing to direct things from the background, foster real self-government into being, provided, that is, he had the right sort of cooperation from the native officials..."[132]

In October, 1899, the people voted Melecio Severino the first Filipino governor of the Republic of Negros.[133] The new government was inaugurated in November, 1899, one year after the fall of Bacolod to Araneta's forces. After the inauguration of the Republic the provisional government of Negros Oriental was dissolved and its property and funds transferred to Bacolod. A "subdelegation" was established in Dumaguete, due to inadequate communication facilities and the distance from Bacolod; it carried out the decrees of the Republic.[134]

The Babaylanes of Siaton

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One reason for the failure of the Republic of Negros was disturbances caused by outlaws who ravaged the

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[132] LeRoy, op. cit., II, p. 109.

[133] Zaide and Tolentino, op. cit., pp. 88-9 and LeRoy, op. cit., II, p. 111.

[134] War Department Report, I, 1900, pp. 253 and 276.

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land. The Spaniards had never been successful in suppressing the marauding bands of bandits who roamed the forested mountains of Negros and the isolated southern region. These groups would suddenly strike at the haciendas, mountain or lowland barrios, burn and loot the buildings, attack the inhabitants, and then retreat to their almost inaccessible lairs. Similar outlaw gangs existed in the Philippines during the Spanish period; they were not unique in Negros. The members of these outlaw groups were usually called ladrones or tulisanes (robbers or thieves) while the friars often referred to them as remontados (figuratively, to take to the hills).[135]

The Filipinos who composed these motley bands were the criminals, the adventurous, the discontented and the fanatics. Some were unwilling members impressed by threats of the loosely-organized outlaw bands. Political and social abuses under the Spaniards drove many otherwise peaceful Filipinos into these rabbles.

> ...in the more settled communities of Luzon and the chief islands of the Bisayas, the tendency to 'remount' and escape the compelling restraints of a civilization in some respects irksome, to avoid the penalty of crime, or, in many cases it doubtless has been, to flee from the abuses of authority or a maladministration of government, has been displayed not so much in a return to the primitive life of the forests as in the formation of bands of outlaws. The close connexion of the inveterate ladronism of the Philippine Islands with the activities of an over-paternal, sometimes tyrannical, friar or military commander in the town, is a thing thoroughly well established.[136]

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[135] LeRoy, The Americans in the Philippines, II, p. 107.

[136] LeRoy, Philippine Life in Town and Country, pp. 29-30.

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Some of the outlaw bands had a messianic or nativistic character that probably stemmed from the threats made to their way of life by the Spanish administration, or from a growing realization of the disintegration of their traditional values.[136] Detailed accounts of these groups of Negros, particularly the Babaylanes in southern Negros are scarce; Gadiane's account of Babaylanes activities in this part of Negros is of increased value for this reason.

There were three general types of outlaw bands in Negros, although their activities often were similar. The largest group was the Babaylanes (that Gadiane translates as "People who are against the rule of the government"). This name is most likely derived from babaylan, the title given to the native priests in pre-Hispanic Philippines.[137] The Babaylanes have been compared with pulajans of Samar, the Colorum movement of Batangas and Tayabas, the Santa Iglesia of Nueva Ecija and Bulacan, and the Guardia de Honor of Pangasinan and the Ilocos provinces. All of these movements had a tone of religious ritual with crusading "Popes," self-appointed "Messiahs," distinctive costumes, bottles of holy oil, prayer books, and various amulets to protect them from harm.[138] The Babaylanes

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[136] Ralph Linton, "Nativistic Movements," American Anthropologist, XLV, No. 2, (April-June, 1943), pp. 230-40.

[137] Zaide, The Philippines Since Pre-Spanish Times, p. 67.

[138] Vic Hurley, Jungle Patrol: The Story of the Philippine Constabulary. New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, 1938, pp. 130-2.

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numbered in the thousands; an estimated 1,500 outlaws existed in Negros Oriental at the beginning of the Negros Republic.[139] There were even more Babaylanes in Negros Occidental.

The Babaylane movement is said to have come from Antique Province, Panay, before the revolution.[140] Their leader in Negros was a former hacienda laborer, Dionisio Magbuela, but usually called "Papa Isio."[141] Isio posed as an instrument of divine vengeance and his followers believed they were ordained by Jesus to liberate the people of Negros from Spaniards and Americans alike.[142] Isio's group believed if the Republic of Negros were overthrown (or later the American provincial governments) that the hacenderos' land would be reapportioned. No machinery would be permitted to enter Negros for the sugar plantations and only rice would be cultivated.[143] Governor

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[139] Senate Document, No. 4242, p. 225.

[140] Philippine Commission Report, II, 1900, p. 415.

[141] Senate Document, No. 4242, p. 225.

[142] Hurley, op. cit., pp. 137-8. Another outlaw, said to be the son of a Negrito mother, was Dalmacio whose headquarters was on the slopes of Canlaon volcano. He was finally captured by Captain John H. White in 1902.

[143] "Report of the Major-General Commanding the Army." Annual Reports of the War Department, Fiscal Year Ending 30 June 1899. House of Representatives Documents, No. 2, 56th Congress, 1st Session, No. 3903, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1899, In three parts, Part 3, p. 348. Hereafter cited as House Document No. 3903, III, 1899.

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Leandro Locsin (when American provincial governments in Negros had been established) characterized the beliefs of the Babaylanes as a "mixture of socialistic principles, anarchistic instincts, and a strange aberration of religious and fanatical notions...[144]

The second type of criminal group in Negros was Filipinos who posed as patriots, fighting for the new Philippine Republic, but were actually bandits who clothed unlawful activities in the new flag of independence. This group developed during the revolution. They were a break-off from the third type of outlaw bands--robbers who made no pretensions at being patriots or having special religious beliefs. These two groups were never as well-organized as the Babaylanes and the latter were often blamed for their plundering.

Negros was a congenial environment for development of outlaw bands. The island's mountainous backbone was an excellent hiding place from pursuing authorities, Spanish, Filipino, or American. "There have always been Babaylanes in the southern part of the island of Negros under the Spanish rule...."[145] The relatively isolated and unsettled Tablas plateau of southern Negros was a favorite haunt of the Babaylanes, which may have influenced its settlement pattern. Prior to the revolution

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[144] Senate Document No. 4242, p. 439.

[145] "Hearings before the Committee of the Philippines of the U. S. Senate." Senate Document No. 331, Part 2. 57th Congress, 1st Session, 1901-02. No. 4243. Government Printing Office, 1902, p. 1790. Hereafter cited as Senate Document No. 4243.

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the Babaylanes were an intermittent evil, being inactive for periods and then coming "...out of the woods when the times were hard and terrorizing the people."[146] The meager transportation and communication facilities of the island hindered the efforts of the police and troops to stamp out their raids.

Echauz devotes a chapter to the Babaylanes in his Apuntes. He writes that it is not his purpose to report on the fighting spirit of these people but to discuss babaylanismo as a "peaceful group practicing their rites in places beyond the reach of authority."

> A decided partisan of a sect which has been unceasingly hunted, the babaylan comes to town only when called to account by legal authority or to cure a sick person...enjoying the profitable life of a quack doctor...He carries no rosaries or escapularies around his neck but in a pocket tied on his back he carries his amulet or anting-anting... He does not pray to God but makes sacrifices and reads from his book printed in different colored inks...This group gets together every new moon in the month of March of every year and in a bigger and more solemn meeting at the same period every seven years...The major assembly or the sanhedrin coincides with our Holy Week...In the great assembly of 1874 celebrated in the mountains of Tubungan officiated the great leaders, Ingo of Cabatuan, Ingo of Barok, Julian, Tatwan, Pall and Pacio of Leon, all of Iloilo. More than a thousand people attended...the meeting...these people...perform their rites in small doses throughout six years and on the seventh year do it on a gigantic scale... The number seven comes into all his undertakings and ceremonies; seven are the hogs sacrificed; he celebrates his reunions every seven years; he burns seven tunics and seven blankets and leaps over the pig seven times before plunging the sacrificial dagger.[147]

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[146] Senate Document No. 4243, p. 1790.

[147] Echauz, op. cit., pp. 139-44.

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Echauz concludes his short account with a description of a religious sacrifice by this group.

The wealth of Negros' growing sugar industry made plundering forages to the lowland quite profitable. The large estates of the hacenderos were rich prizes. William Taft reported:

> In the Spanish times forces of a thousand to fifteen hundred men [Babailanes] was not at all unusual. They...made forays down into the rich sugar haciendas that are in West Negros and sometimes to the rich planters of eastern Negros [probably at San Carlos and the Bais-Tanjay area] ..."[148]

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The contrast between the rich and the poor was especially vivid in western Negros. The wealth of the hacenderos grew with the expansion of sugar agriculture. One American observer, writing in 1901, commented:

> The situation in the Island is somewhat similar to that in Europe during the Middle Ages,--the great families rule the land. The Lazuriaggas [Luzuriagas], the Mapas, the Lacsons, are the Capulets and Montagues of the Island of Negros.[149]

Many of the sugar planters exploited their workers, as was the custom throughout the islands, and most of the abuses that existed during the Spanish period continued under the Negros Republic. The rapidly growing population of Negros increased the number of landless farmers who probably looked enviously on the great holdings of the hacenderos.

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The Babailanes raided and stole from Spaniards and Filipinos alike. They had a set tariff of blackmail which

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[148] Senate Document No. 4242, p. 14.

[149] W. F. Norris, "Legal Conditions in the Island of Negros," The Green Bag, XIV, No. 1, (January, 1902), p. 20.

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they demanded from the wealthier class and local officials. The municipal officials who failed to raise the money demanded by Isio were "hung without any hesitation whatsoever."[150] In 1900 Isio announced that Filipinos who associated or cooperated with Americans would be decapitated, just as the towns that did not revolt against the Negros Republic, allegedly dominated by the sugar planters, would be burned. The anti-American attitude of the Babaylanes was encouraged by agents of Aguinaldo's government who secretly came to Negros, joined the outlaw bands in the mountains, and incited them to attack the local government.[151]

The Babaylan disorders, and the other outlaws in Negros, spurred the leaders of Bacolod to request American aid for their provisional government. The wealthy sugar planters feared the spread of lawlessness in the island would increase and destruction of their property would become more serious. Luzuriaga explained to General Otis when the Negros delegation visited him in Manila in 1899:

> This is a sect [Babaylanes] partly religious and also anarchistic which existed during the times of the Spaniards, and as commissioners from Panay [Tagalog agents of Aguinaldo] promised these people a division of the property of the people in power they succeeded in getting them to revolt in arms against the [Negros] government. In consequence of this houses were burned, cattle were taken possession

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150 Worcester, op. cit., p. 232.

151 Senate Document, No. 4242, p. 731.

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of, and all the plantations in some districts were burned. I have heard that there were about 100 [sugar] plantations burned.[152]

When Colonel Smith arrived in Bacolod his troops fought the Babailanes. Some of the engagements between the Americans and the Babailanes were more than mere skirmishes. For example, Smith's troops attacked a Babailane camp near Bobong, western Negros, with the result that they lost 60 of their men while 300 Babailanes and two of the "generals" were killed. The continued lack of law and order in western Negros was one reason why many Bacolod leaders requested a provincial status for the island when William Taft visited them in 1901.

Colonel Smith wrote that after the Tanjay revolt, Negros Oriental was peaceful "if an unsuccessful raid of Tulisanes [Babailanes] on the pueblo of Siaton be excepted."[153] This raid Cadiane vividly describes, furnishing one of the most detailed accounts available of the southern Babailane movement. According to Cadiane these raids occurred during 1898 and 1899 and the Babailanes came from Tolong. They probably originated in western Negros and crossed to Tolong by way of Kabankalan.

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In 1898 the Babailanes marched along the coast of southern Negros with the alleged objective of capturing Dumaguete. Their dress varied. Some wore striped clothing

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[152] Philippine Commission Report, II, 1900, p. 414.

[153] War Department Report, I, 1900, p. 252.